

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 COPENH 00302 01 OF 02 041235Z

44

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

SP-02 PRS-01 EB-03 PM-03 IO-03 DODE-00 RSC-01 EA-06

/052 W

----- 019196

R 041050Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 371

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0302

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, US, DA

SUBJECT: US INTERESTS AND THE DANISH GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH THE US WILL BE ABLE TO GET ALONG WITH
ANY PROBABLE SUCCESSOR, POUL HARTLING'S LIBERAL GOVERNMENT
WHICH FELL JAN 28 PROBABLY REPRESENTED A HIGH POINT IN THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 COPENH 00302 01 OF 02 041235Z

CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE US AND DENMARK.

AS THE RESULT OF THE JAN 9 ELECTION, HOWEVER, THE LIBERALS (NOW DENMARK'S SECOND LARGEST PARTY) FOUND THEMSELVES: (1) ALIENATED FROM THE REMNANTS OF MOST OTHER PARTIES OF THE LIBERAL CENTER; (2) UNWILLING TO COOPERATE WITH GLISTRUP'S PROGRESSIVES; AND (3) FACING A STRENGTHENED SOCIALIST OPPOSITION. THE ELECTION ALSO LEFT THE PARLIAMENT TOO FINELY BALANCED TO PROVIDE ANY PARTY A LONG-TERM WORKABLE BASE; A CONTINUATION OF THE POLITICAL PIROUETTE WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THE DANISH SCENE FOR MORE THAN A YEAR WILL TEND TO BENEFIT ONLY GLISTRUP. THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP--THE COUNTRY'S LARGEST) IS LIKELY TO BE THE CORE OF WHATEVER NEW GOVERNMENT DOES EMERGE SHOULD NOT CAUSE UNDUE CONCERN. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS LED DENMARK INTO BOTH NATO AND THE EC AND ARE APPARENTLY READY TO TURN TO THEIR PARLIAMENTARY RIGHT TO SEEK SUPPORT TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. HARTLING'S RESIGNATION ALSO SET INTO ACTION FORCES THAT MIGHT PROVIDE A BRIDGE ACROSS THE GULF THAT HAD WIDENED BETWEEN THE LIBERALS AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. SUCH A BRIDGE WILL BE NEEDED TO ASSURE EFFECTIVE SUPPORT FOR US FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES AS WELL AS TO ADDRESS DENMARK'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. HARTLING'S MINORITY LIBERAL GOVERNMENT WHICH FELL JAN 28 REPRESENTED POLICIES AND ATTITUDES MORE CLOSELY ATTUNED TO US INTERESTS THAN THOSE OF ANY PROBABLE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT. THIS IS CERTAINLY TRUE IF US INTERESTS ARE DEFINED AS THE MAINTENANCE OF DANISH SUPPORT FOR US POLICY ON KEY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES BASED ON A SHARED WORLDVIEW. SPECIFICALLY AND CURRENTLY, THIS MEANS: A CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO NATO AND THE MAINTENANCE AND EXTENSION OF THE FOUR-YEAR DANISH DEFENSE AGREEMENT; COOPERATION WITH THE US AND OTHER CONSUMERS IN WORKING OUT A JOINT ENERGY POLICY; READINESS TO HELP MOVE THE EC IN DIRECTIONS DESIRED BY THE US; SUPPORT OF THE US IN INTERNATIONAL FORA SUCH AS THE UN; AND DANISH PURCHASE OF THE F-16. (IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES PLAYED NO ROLE IN THE RECENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN.)

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 COPENH 00302 01 OF 02 041235Z

2. DURING THEIR YEAR IN OFFICE, THE LIBERALS DOMONSTRATED THEMSELVES TO BE STRONGLY PRO-NATO AND EC. THEY FAVOR CLOSE US-EC CONSULTATION ON ALL IMPORTANT MATTERS INCLUDING ENERGY. THEIR SUPPORT OF US POSITIONS ON CRITICAL UN ISSUES HAS BEEN AS CONSTANT AS COULD BE PROVIDED BY ANY DANISH GOVERNMENT...SOMETIMES AT THE EXPENSE OF "NORDIC UNITY." THEY HAVE BEEN LESS INTERESTED

IN "ANTI-OPPRESSION" (AND OFTEN ANTI-US) CAUSES DISTANT FROM DENMARK THAN EITHER THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OR THE RADICALS, PARTIES WHOSE IMPORTANCE WAS ENHANCED BY THE JAN 9 ELECTION.

3. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND RADICALS FAVOR NATO AND EC MEMBERSHIP, BUT THERE ARE VOCAL ELEMENTS IN BOTH PARTIES WHICH OPPOSE SUCH MEMBERSHIP. THEY ARE MORE ATTRACTED TO "NORDIC UNITY." THEY ARE "SOFTER" THAN THE LIBERALS ON DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. THEY ARE MORE SUSPICIOUS OF US INVOLVEMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS MUST ALSO ALWAYS TAKE ACCOUNT OF ATTACKS FROM THE FAR-LEFT PARTIES ON BOTH THEIR POLITICAL DOCTRINES AND TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP.

4. AS A RESULT OF THE ELECTION, THE LIBERALS ALMOST DOUBLED THEIR SEATS IN PARLIAMENT (42 OUT OF 179) TO BECOME DENMARK'S SECOND LARGEST PARTY. THE JUSTICE (SINGLE TAX) PARTY DROPPED OUT OF SIGHT. THE CENTER DEMOCRATS--WHOSE RAISON D'ETRE HAS LARGELY DISAPPEARED --WERE BARELY ABLE TO SECURE ENOUGH VOTES TO AVOID PARLIAMENTARY EXTINCTION. BOTH THE CONSERVATIVES AND RADICALS WERE RETURNED WITH LARGE LOSSES BUT WITH THE LATTER, BECAUSE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BALANCE, IN A NEW KEY POSITION. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAY BE PASSING PERMANENTLY OFF THE DANISH POLITICAL SCENE AS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH, ITS MEMBERS LARGELY LURED AWAY BY GLISTRUP AND BY HARTLING.

5. THE FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUPPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLES PARTY (E.G., DISENCHANTMENT WITH POLICIES THAT HAVE CREATED AMORALLY LIBERTINE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY) WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO ASSURE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 COPENH 00302 01 OF 02 041235Z

THAT SMALL PARTY (9 SEATS) A PARLIAMENTARY PLACE. THE CRHISTIANS HAVE ALSO SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE THE MOST LOYAL OF ALL THE FORMER ALLIES OF THE LIBERALS. TO THE PERPLEXITY OF MOST OBSERVERS, THE PROBLEM-WRACKED PROGRESSIVES OF MOGENS GLISTRUP LOST ONLY FOUR OF THEIR 28 SEATS AND REENTERED THE CHAMBER AS THE THIRD LARGEST PARTY. (A SEPERATE MESSAGE ON THE GLISTRUP MOVEMENT IS UNDER PREPARATION.)

6. THE ELECTION STRENGTHENED THE LEFT SIDE OF THE DANISH PARLIAMENT FROM 64 TO 74 SEATS WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HOLDING 54, THE PARTIES FARTHER LEFT, 20. DESPITE CONTINUING PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP AND POLICY DIRECTION, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WILL PROBABLY MAINTAIN--AT LEAST OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS--THE POSITION THEY HAVE HELD

SINCE 1924 AS DENMARK'S LARGEST POLITICAL PARTY.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 COPENH 00302 02 OF 02 041247Z

44

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

SP-02 PRS-01 EB-03 PM-03 IO-03 DODE-00 RSC-01 EA-06

/052 W

----- 019293

R 041050Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 372

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0302

LIMDIS

7. THESE RESULTS INDICATED THAT HARTLIN'S "NEGATIVE MAJORITY" WAS DESTROYED. A CONTINUATION OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT, PARADOXICALLY WEAKENED IN THE FACE OF THE PARTY'S OWN SUCCESS, WOULD HAVE REQUIRED HARTLING TO COOPERATE FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH MOGENS GLISTRUP'S PROGRESSIVES IN ORDER TO RULE EFFECTIVELY. THE LIBERALS

REIGHTLY FEARED THAT IN SO DOING THEY MIGHT WELL HAVE HAD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 COPENH 00302 02 OF 02 041247Z

TO OFFER MORE THAN SILENCE TO THE REACTIONARY, NARROWLY-
NATIONALISTIC (AND SOMETIMES ABSURD) POLICIES GLISTRUP
HAS STOOD FOR.

8. EXCEPT FOR THE CHRISTIANS, AND THE UNWANTED EXTENDED
HAND OF GLISTRUP, HARTLING HAD ALIENATED THE OTHER PARTIES
OF THE CENTER-RIGHT BY AN ELECTION HE CALLED (UNNECESSARILY
IN THE VIEW OF THEIR LEADERS) THAT RESULTED IN THEIR
DECIMATION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE HAD PAINTED HIMSELF INTO
A CORNER AWAY FROM THE DOOR THAT LED TO A MEANINGFUL
UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS BY EXCLUDING
COOPERATION WITH THEM AS LONG AS THEY WERE LED BY ANKER
JORGENSEN. HARLING'S POSITION IN THIS MATTER, IN
FACT, CEMENTED JORGENSEN MORE TIGHTLY IN HIS SOMEWHAT
SHAKY HOLD ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND IN TURN
INCREASED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC INTRANSIGENCE TO COOPERATION
WITH THE LIBERALS.

9. THE SITUATION IN PARLIAMENT AFTER JAN 9, THEN, MADE
THE ENLISTMENT OF SUPPORT FOR ANY GOVERNMENT LED BY
HARTLING ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. HIS RESIGNATION AFTER AN
86-85 DEFEAT, HOWEVER, HAS SET INTO ACTIN FORCES
WHICH MAY BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A WORKABLE GOVERNMENT, AT
LEAST OVER THE NEXT HALF YEAR, AS WELL AS TO PROVIDE A
BRIDGE BETWEEN THE LIBERALS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

10. THE CORE OF A NEW DANISH GOVERNMENT WILL LIKELY
BE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. THIS PROSPECT NEED NOT CAUSE
PARTICULAR CONCERN. BY AND LARGE, US-DANISH RELATIONS
SINCE WORLD WAR II HAVE BEEN VERY GOOD EXCEPT FOR
DIFFERENCES ON THIRD WORLD MATTERS AND PARTICULARLY ON
VIET-NAM. DURING MOST OF THIS PERIOD, DANISH GOVERNMENTS
HAVE BEEN HEADED BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE PARTY
WHICH LED DENMARK INTO BOTH NATO AND THE EC.

11. IN OR OUT OF GOVERNMENT, THE ACTIVE SUPPORT, COOPER-
ACTION OR QUIET TOLERATION OF THE SDP IS NEEDED ON MOST
ISSUES, INCLUDING THOSE IN WHICH THERE ARE IDENTIFIABLE
US INTERESTS. THE LATTER RANGE FROM THE CONTINUATION
OF NATO AND EC TIES (WHERE ACTIVE SUPPORT IS NEEDED) TO
A SERIES OF DANISH GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES TO DEAL WITH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 COPENH 00302 02 OF 02 041247Z

THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC ILLS (WHERE AT LEAST QUIET TOLERATION MUST BE ASSURED).

12. GIVEN THE PRESENT COMPOSITION OF THE PARLIAMENT, A RETURN TO THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED FROM 1971 TO LATE 1973 WHEN THE GOVERNMENT WAS BASED ON THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IS NOT POSSIBLE, AT LEAST IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO HAVE A MAJORITY. THE SDP INSTEAD IS SEEKING AN ARRANGEMENT WITH PARTIES TO ITS RIGHT, ESPECIALLY THE RADICALS. IT IS ALSO CONCEIVABLE THAT ANKER JORGENSEN, NOW "EXONERATED" BY HARTLING'S FALL, MIGHT REMOVE HIMSELF AS PUTATIVE PRIME MINISTER OF A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC-LED GOVERNMENT.

13. AS THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS SETTLE THEMSELVES ACROSS FROM EACH OTHER IN PARLIAMENT AFTER A NEW GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN PUT TOGETHER, THERE WILL BE ISSUES WHICH WILL REMAIN UNBRIDGEABLE. ONE OF THESE IS LIKELY TO BE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' CHERISHED "ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY" (OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION TO BE SHARED WITH LABOR) ON WHICH US INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF US BUSINESS, WILL BE MORE CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE LIBERALS. (THE SDP SEEMS TO BE WILLING TO PUT THIS ISSUE ON THE SHELF FOR THE TIME BEING TO GET SUPPORT FROM THEIR PARLIAMENTARY RIGHT.) THERE ALSO EXISTS A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE TWO LARGEST PARTIES WHICH SHARE A DEDICATION TO WESTERN DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND VALUE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE DANISH WELFARE STATE. THEIR CURRENT ANTAGONISM, WHILE ROOTED IN DIFFERING IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS, HAS BEEN HEAVILY EXACERBATED BY PERSONAL ANTIPATHIES BETWEEN THEIR LEADERS.

14. WITHOUT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS IT WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO OBTAIN DANISH SUPPORT FOR THOSE ISSUES OF MAJOR INTEREST TO THE US (E.G., FIGHTER PLANE REPLACEMENT) OR TO CARRY DENMARK PAST ITS PRESENT PERIOD OF GOVERNMENT IMMOBILITY SO AS TO BE ABLE TO ADDRESS THE COUNTRY'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

15. UNDER THE PRODDING OF FORMATEUR KARL SKYTTE ALL PARTIES ARE GRAPPLING THIS WEEK WITH THE PROBLEM OF
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 COPENH 00302 02 OF 02 041247Z

HOW A VIABLE GOVERNMENT CAN BE SHAPED. NEITHER OF THE MAJOR ANTAGONISTS CAN BE UNAWARE OF THE GROWING FEELING THAT ALL THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING SINCE NOV 1973 HAS FRITTERED AWAY MUCH PRECIOUS TIME AND THAT THE ACKNOWLEDGED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CANNOT BE WISHED OR TALKED AWAY.

16. GLISTRUP WILL CONTINUE TO PROSPER AS THE FEELING AGAINST "THE POLITICIANS" WAXES. IF HE WERE TO GAIN A POSITION OF MAJOR INFLUENCE IN A DANISH GOVERNMENT, THERE WOULD BE CAUSE FOR MORE CONCERN THAT WITH THE FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT BASED ON EITHER THE LIBERALS OR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM WHICH HE AND THE EXTREMISTS OF THE LEFT ARE BOTH EXCLUDED.
CROWE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975COPENH00302
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750040-0443
From: COPENHAGEN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750275/aaaacpqn.tel
Line Count: 339
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <10 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US INTERESTS AND THE DANISH GOVERNMENT SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH THE US WILL BE ABLE TO GET ALONG WITH
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, US, DA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006